

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00315 291327Z

46

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

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P R 291245Z AUG 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2744

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0315

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: JOHNSON-SEменов PRIVATE MEETING AUGUST 28 (SALT TWO-753)

REF: SALT TWO-754

MY PRIVATE MEETING LATE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON WITH SEMENOV LASTED ALMOST FOUR HOURS. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EARLE, AND HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SMILIN. WE SPENT SOMEWHAT OVER TWO HOURS ON PARA 3 OF ARTICLE XVII (VERIFICATION) FOLLOWED BY SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF TIME ON PARAS 2 (A) AND (B) OF ARTICLE XVIII, ENDING WITH HIS GIVING ME LANGUAGE ON FOB'S (WHICH HE WILL FORMALLY TABLE AT TODAY'S PLENARY) AND A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ON OUR POSITION ON ARTICLE X.

2. OUR DISCUSSION ON VERIFICATION BECAME ESPECIALLY HEATED WHEN HE RENEWED HIS CHARGES THAT WE WERE SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A LICENSE FOR ESPIONAGE AGAINST THE SOVIET RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER, IN THE END I SAID THAT IF HE WERE WILLING TO ACCEPT THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR AGREED STATEMENT IN A FORMAL WAY AS BEING AGREED EXPLANATION OF THEIR LANGUAGE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00315 291327Z

"DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES," I WOULD BE WILLING TO

RECOMMEND THAT WE ACCEPT THAT LANGUAGE FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 3. I SAID THAT THIS WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO OUR POSITION ON THE THIRD SENTENCE "NON-DELIBERATE MEASURES," WHICH I WANTED TO DISCUSS FURTHER IF AND WHEN WE COULD REACH AGREEMENT ON THE FIRST SENTENCE IN THE AGREED STATEMENT. HE, OF COURSE, DID NOT COMMIT HIMSELF, BUT APPEARED TO BE INTERESTED, AND THE BALL IS NOW IN HIS COURT.

3. ON PARA 2(A) OF ARTICLE XVIII I SET FORTH THE ARGUMENTS THAT THIS WAS SUPPLEMENTARY TO AND IN NO WAY REPLACED NTM AND, CITING PRECEDENCE OF SCC PROCEDURES ON EXCHANGING INFORMATION IN CONNECTION WITH MANAGEMENT OF IA PROVISION ON ADDITIONAL SLBM'S REPLACING DISMANTLING ICBM'S, SAID THAT I THOUGHT THAT THIS PROVISION COULD HAVE EQUAL IF NOT GREATER IMPORTANCE IN HELPING "TO MANAGE" THE 2,400 AND 1,300 AGGREGATES, ESPECIALLY AS EITHER OR BOTH SIDES APPROACHED THOSE LIMITS. I SAID IT COULD HAVE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IN GETTING THE NEW AGREEMENT "OFF ON THE RIGHT FOOT" IN OCTOBER OF 1977, AND EARNESTLY ASKED THAT THEY "NOT REJECT THIS OUT OF HAND." ON 2(B) I GAVE HIM A SLIGHTLY REVISED LANGUAGE WHICH I SAID WAS DESIGNED TO MAKE EVEN MORE EXPLICIT THAT WE WERE NOT TRYING TO CONTROL THEIR PROGRAMS OF REPLACEMENT AND CONVERSION, BUT RATHER, WITHIN THE PATTERN OF THE SCC PROCEDURES, SIMPLY HAVE AGREED CRITERIA FOR WHEN THE SYSTEMS BECAME SUBJECT TO LIMITATIONS AND WHEN THEY WERE REMOVED FROM THE LIMITATIONS. (FULL TEXT OF REVISED ARTICLE BY SEPTTEL.) READING FROM LONG LIST OF PREPARED NOTES (WHICH EVEN WITH SMOLIN'S HELP HE NEVERTHELESS GOT MIXED UP) HE REHASHED ALL THEIR ARGUMENTS ON BOTH ARTICLES, BUT AGREED TO STUDY THE REVISION I HAD MADE TO PARA 2(B). IN THIS CONNECTION HE PARTICULARLY NOTED THAT WE HAD NOT CHANGED THE PRIOR-NOTIFICATION LANGUAGE IN OUR REDRAFT. (DURING THE COURSE OF HIS PRESENTATION ON THESE SUBJECTS HE READ STATEMENT, WHICH WHEN TRANSLATED LASTED A FULL 45 MINUTES, ON THE VIRTUES OF COUNTRIES THEMSELVES POLICING TREATIES WITHOUT OUTSIDE HELP AND HOW VIRTUOUS SOVIETS WERE IN THIS REGARD.)

4. HE THEN READ ME REVISED TEXT ON WEAPONS IN ORBIT, INCLUDING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO "PARTICULARLY ORBITAL MISSILES." I WILL, OF COURSE, CABLE FULL TEXT WHEN HE TABLES IT TODAY. HE THEN REFERRED TO MY AUGUST 26 PRESENTATION ON ARTICLE X AND ASKED THAT, IN VIEW OF OUR LIMITING BAN ON INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00315 291327Z

TO LAND BASED, WHAT WAS OUR POSITION ON AIR OR SEA-BASED ICM'S? WITH RESPECT TO OUR PROPOSAL ON SEABORNE BALLISTIC MISSILES ON OTHER THAN SUBMARINES, WHAT WAS OUR POSITION ON CRUISE MISSILES? HE ALSO ASKED FOR OUR POSITION ON CRUISE MISSILES WITH RESPECT TO OUR PROPOSAL ON BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEMS AND SEABEDS. I SAID I WOULD TAKE HIS QUESTIONS UNDER ADVISEMENT.

5. WE AGREED TO POSTPONE OUR DISCUSSION OF ARTICLES II,

IV.7, XVI, XX AND XII UNTIL TODAY.JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, ARMS CONTROL INSPECTION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00315
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750299-1101
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975085/aaaaadpy.tel
Line Count: 116
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 JUN 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <14 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JOHNSON-SEMONOV PRIVATE MEETING AUGUST 28 (SALT TWO-753)
TAGS: PARM, (SEMONOV), (JOHNSON, J ALEXIS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006